tax of four annas to the Kurumbas, and, if a Kurumba comes to a Badaga hatti (village), a subscription is raised as an inducement to him to take his departure. The Kurumba receives a fee for every Badaga funeral, and for the pregnancy ceremony (kannikattu).

It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "the Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas, but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter. In some cases, Todas, have been killed by Badagas owing to this belief."

Among the Todas, the duties of milking the buffaloes and dairy-work are entrusted to special individuals, whereas any Badaga male may, after initiation, milk the cows and buffaloes, provided that he is free from pollution. Every Badaga boy, when he is about seven or nine years old, is made to milk a cow on an auspicious day, or on new year's day. The ceremony is thus described by Mr. Natesa Sastri. "Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony, the boy is bathed, and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo, with her calf, stands before his house, waiting to be milked. The parents, or other elder relations of the boy, and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father, or some one of the agnatic kindred, gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called honē, which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands, and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy,

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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852 (868) sitting down, milks a small quantity into the honē. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking, and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the honē is previously filled almost to the brim. The boy takes the vessel filled with milk into his house, and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken up on himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk in the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly, and bless him, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes, and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this, the boy enters the milk-house (hāgōttu), and places milk in his honē there. From this moment, and all through his life, he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony."

234 788 A cow or buffalo, which has calved for the first time, has to be treated in a special manner. For three or five days it is not milked. A boy is then selected to milk it. He must not sleep on a mat, or wear a turban, and, instead of tying his cloth round his waist, must wear (784) it loosely over his body. Meat is forbidden, and he must avoid, and not speak to polluting classes, such as Irulas and Kotas, and menstruating women. On the (783) (824) day appointed for milking the animal, the boy bathes, and proceeds to milk it into a new honē purified by smearing a paste of *Meliosma* (tūd) leaves and bark over it, and heating it over a fire. The milk is taken to 782 a stream, where three cups are made of *Argyreia* (mīnige) 788 leaves, into which a small quantity of the milk is placed. (234) The cups are then put in the water. The remainder of the milk in the honē is also poured into the stream. In some places, especially where a Mādeswara temple is

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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553 [574] A child receives its name on the seventh, ninth, or eleventh day. A sumptuous meal is given to the community, and the grandfather (paternal, if possible) milks a cow, and pours the milk into a brass cup placed in the milk-house. With it a little cooked sāmai grain is mixed. The babe is washed with water brought from a stream; marked on the forehead with sacred ashes; a turmeric-dyed thread is tied round its waist; a silver or iron bangle placed on its wrists; and a silver bead tied by a thread round its neck. Thus decorated, the infant is taken up by the oldest man of the village who is not a widower, who gives it a name, which has already been chosen. The elder, and the child's parents and grandparents then place a little milk in its mouth.

• 852 Children, both male and female, go through a shaving ceremony, usually when they are seven months old. The infant is seated in the lap of a Badaga, and, after water has been applied to its head by a Badaga or a barber, the maternal uncle removes some of the hair with a razor, and then hands it over to another Badaga or a barber to complete the operation.

763 Of the death rites as carried out by the Badaga subdivision, the following note was recorded during a visit to Kotagiri. When death is drawing near, a gold coin, called Vīrarāya hana or fanam, dipped in butter or ghī, is given to the dying man to swallow. If he is too far gone to be capable of swallowing, the coin is, according to Mr. Natesa Sastri, tied round the arm. But our informants told us that this is not done at the present day. "If," Mr. Gover writes,* "the tiny coin slips down, well. [775] He will need both gold and ghī, the one to sustain his strength in the dark journey to the river of death, the

* *Op. cit.*

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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in the days immediately after the new or full moon. It is believed that a male birth on the night of the full moon or the next day is auspicious, but if on the day of the new moon it is more inauspicious than on any other day (Reclus 1885: 203). This belief is enshrined in the saying, "The boy born on the new moon day is bad; the girl born on the full moon day is bad." (For purposes of Badaga ritual practice, and this particular belief too, a sunset ends one day and is the beginning of the next.) A birth coming on a day between the new and the full moon is lucky; whereas one between the full and the new moon is unlucky. It is exceptionally auspicious if a *son* is born at the full moon, and luckier still if this happens to be the mother's eighth delivery (though not necessarily her eighth live birth). Under these circumstances the family will "prosper like a king's." If on the other hand it is a girl who is born at the new moon, or at her mother's eighth delivery, it is then believed that the family the child marries into will prosper, and so many will want to marry her.

The unfortunate boy born on the day of the new moon is called Tippa ; and a girl born at the full moon is similarly Tippe. As soon as such an unlucky child has been born it is put into an old winnow and dragged a few inches across the floor. The name Tippa means "rubbish dump," and this act symbolizes throwing the baby away as rubbish: afterwards the inauspicious birth will not have a bad effect on the family. Later, at its naming ceremony, the child will be given two names so that it does not have to be called by this distasteful one.

4.7. Long ago in cases of very difficult labour Badaga midwives performed Caesarean operations, using the small knife that is intended for severing the umbilicus. I could not ascertain whether the wound was stitched up afterwards: in those times people did not care very much whether the mother died, provided the child was born and remained alive. Now the opposite attitude prevails. Some midwives still know how to reach into a womb and remove a dead foetus. It should be noted that if a pregnant woman dies the foetus must be cut out before disposal of the mother's corpse: from this unfortunate custom some basic surgical knowledge was undoubtedly gleaned in the past.

Nowadays if a woman is having a particularly difficult labour a special mixture is prepared for her. Items used in this include dried ginger, pepper, cumin, clove, crude sugar, coffee powder,

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

(*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

(*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

(*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

(*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

(*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

(*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

(*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

(*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

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half-a-dozen of the common patterns (1876: 195). These designs, made up of dots, dashes, crescents and circles, were also to be seen on the shoulders of some women, and the forearm and back of the hand were commonly tattooed as well. Although it was obligatory it was never an occasion for ceremony. The technique calls for an older woman, Badaga or otherwise, to etch the pattern on the skin with a thorn from one of two plants, the common Nilgiri barberry or the Bengal currant. Pins and needles are used now. The pigment used is finely powdered charcoal from the bottom of a pot, or else lamp black, mixed with rice gruel (Thurston 1909: 82). Afterwards an oil is put on to the wounds. Rhiem (1900: 504) adds that a silver finger-ring is plunged into a corrosive black liquid and then pressed against tattoo wounds. Shoulder, wrist and hand tattoos may be added later, even after marriage, while a woman is in the menstrual hut. Men are never present for a tattooing.

(*i*) *Milking Initiation*. Nothing ceremonial happens to a boy between his naming and head shaving in infancy, and the initiation into adult work between the ages of seven and nine. This involves his ceremonial milking of a buffalo (Natesa Sastri 1892: 757-58; Francis 1908: 131; Thurston 1909: 87-88; "Miles" 1933: 73).

(*j*) *Lingayat Initiation*. Boys of the several Lingayat clans, including the Wodeya phratry, undergo a ceremony of investiture of the *linga* at about their 13th year. A *pu:ja* is performed and the boys learn a prayer (Natesa Sastri 1892: 758-60; Thurston 1909: 90-93). Today the ceremony, which is always to be done in an odd-numbered year of a boy's life, occurs even as early as his fifth year.

(*k*) *Puberty Rites*. Menarche is marked by complicated observations, as explained above (3.11); but for a boy's puberty there is no observance whatsoever.

Childhood Maladies

5.23. Whatever may seem to be wrong with an infant it is given no medicines until its fifth month. If necessary before then a medicine may be given to its mother, in the expectation that the child will derive a benefit from it through her milk. This is the case for example if a child is affected by a "bad wind."

In earlier days a thread with 108 knots in it

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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342 roof of it is well planked, and over it is another small room called *Mêlâdu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Badagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Badagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Badaga house.

352 The Badaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Badaga.

121 We shall now describe the Badaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

852 In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child (551) as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then

881 the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Badaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Badaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of

(562) worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred

(858) from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hone* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hone*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hone*

(174) is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates

795 If more than one have to receive the *Linga* on the same day each of them has to undergo this ceremony. After the ceremony is [793] over the priest returns to his village with the rice, &c., and fees. [796] Every house in which a boy has received the *Linga* has to give a grand feast that day. Even the poorest Badaga must feed five other Badagas at least.

Thus closes the Linga-wearing ceremony of the Badaga boy, after which he passes through no additional ceremony. He spends his time now in milking the buffaloes, now in the fields, and is thus always preparing himself to become in the future the responsible head of a Badaga family.

121 Before we speak of the ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage of a Badaga youth and of those which are due to him at the time of and after his death, which we shall dwell upon at their proper place, we shall turn our attention to a Badaga female-child and trace her from her birth to her marriage. As soon as a female-
594 child is born, some of her relations who are in a position to contract a marriage relationship bespeak the baby, and arrange for her to be married at the proper age to such and such a boy. In consideration of this they give Rs. 10 as a fee. This is everything to the girl and her price cannot afterwards be enhanced even though when she grows up she may be worth more—even as much as Rs. 200 which is the highest rate prevailing among them. Even when a girl is thus bespoken, all the forms connected with the courtship and marriage which I am about to describe are observed except the one of handing over the price of the girl, which in such a case has already been paid. This custom of contracting relationship is rare but it does occur in [684] ten out of a hundred cases. Violations of this kind of marriage are considered very ungentlemanly but they are not infrequent. The fine for such violations is after all very light, being merely the return of the Rs. 10 formerly paid for the girl when the infant was bespoken.

561 Let us now go back to the baby and suppose her not to be thus
852 bespoken. She has no rites or any observances to undergo till she becomes of a marriageable age. She then leaves her parents' house and goes to a building called the *Hola-Gudi*. This *Hola-*
881 *Gudi* is a public place reserved exclusively for women and grown up
(591) girls, and is a building that every Badaga village contains. She is presented with a new cloth by her parents and remains in the *Hola-Gudi* till the next full-moon day. All the families in the village bring to her one measure of wheat or *Korali* flour from each